

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EB-07 OMB-01 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

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ACDA-05 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 IO-11 /084 W

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R 221749Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5886

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

CINC USAFE RAMSTEIN

CINC USAREUR HEIDELBERG

CINC EUR VAIHINGEN

USNMR SHAPE

CINC USNAVEUR LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 01208

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: GW, NATO, MPOL

SUBJECT: CDU ATTACKS GOVERNMENT DEFENSE POLICY

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BEGIN SUMMARY: ON JANUARY 13 THE CDU BUNDESTAG "FRAKTION" PUBLISHED A "GUIDELINES" PAPER ENTITLED "DEFENSE AS PART OF GERMAN SECURITY POLICY". ACCORDING TO CDU CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL, THE MAIN LINES OF THIS PAPER WILL BE INCORPORATED IN THE CDU'S ELECTION MANIFESTO. TWO DAYS LATER, DR. MANFRED WOERNER, THE CDU'S DEFENSE SPOKESMAN, TOOK UP SOME OF THE SAME THEMES DURING THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON DEFENSE POLICY. IN BOTH THE "GUIDELINES" AND THE DEFENSE DEBATE, THE CDU ATTEMPTED TO PORTRAY THE GOVERNING COALITION AS DANGEROUSLY COMPLACENT IN THE FACE OF THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP. SUCH COMPLACENCY, IT CLAIMS, FLOWS NATURALLY FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S DETENTE POLICY. WHETHER OR NOT THE CDU REALLY HAS AN EFFECTIVE ELECTION ISSUE ON DEFENSE POLICY REMAINS, HOWEVER, OPEN TO QUESTION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE TWELVE-PAGE CDU "GUIDELINES ON DEFENSE POLICY" ACTUALLY DOES NOT DIFFER MARKEDLY FROM THE DEFENSE POLICY FOLLOWED BY THE STRONGLY PRO-NATO SPD/FDP GOVERNMENT. IT DOES, HOWEVER, PLACE A GREAT DEAL OF EMPHASIS ON THE SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP WHICH IT DESCRIBES IN SOME DETAIL. OTHERWISE, IT LAYS THE USUAL STRESS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, THE NEED TO KEEP THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD HIGH ("THE QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL STRENGTHENING OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE FORCES HAS ABSOLUTE PRIORITY AND URGENCY; IN ITS OWN INTEREST EUROPE MUST NOT BE DEFENDED ONLY BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS"); AND THE NEED FOR CONTINUED UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE IN THE FRG. IN TWO RESPECTS ONLY DO THE CDU "GUIDELINES" DIFFER FROM CURRENT FRG POLICY.

2. FIRST OF ALL, THE "GUIDELINES" APPEAR TO FAVOR THE CREATION OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE FORCE, ALBEIT IN CLOSE PARTNERSHIP WITH THE US. "WE ARE AWARE THAT THE US WILL FULLY MEET ITS ALLIANCE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED IT CAN FEEL THAT ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE THE WILL TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE IN DEFENSE AND DETENTE PRESUPPOSES AN ENDURING PARTNER-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SHIP BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE. WE ADVOCATE THE RALLYING OF EUROPEAN FORCES WITHOUT THE FRAMEWORK OF SUCH PARTNERSHIP. IT IS NECESSARY FOR EUROPEANS STEP BY STEP TO:

-- CARRY FORWARD COOPERATION IN SECURITY POLICY,
ARMAMENTS AND MILITARY MATTERS;

-- HARMONIZE THEIR DEFENSE POLICIES AND ARMED
FORCES;

-- CREATE A UNIFIED EUROPE WITH JOINT ARMED FORCES
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE."

3. THE OTHER MAIN POINT OF DIFFERENCE WITH CURRENT
GOVERNMENT POLICY CONCERNS THE FRG'S MILITARY BUDGET.
"FUNDS MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE DEFENSE BUDGET MUST BE
ORIENTED TO THE TASKS OF THE BUNDESWEHR. TO SUCH TASKS
WE ASSIGN THE HIGHEST PRIORITY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF
STATE EXPENDITURES. IN ORDER TO KEEP THE BUNDESWEHR
ON A MODERN FOOTING, WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE
INCREASING THREAT AND TAKES ACCOUNT OF REGULAR COST

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INCREASES, THERE MUST BE A CONTINUAL INCREASE IN REAL
TERMS IN THE ANNUAL DEFENSE BUDGET." THE WORDS
"CONTINUAL INCREASE IN REAL TERMS IN THE ANNUAL DEFENSE
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BUDGET" ARE UNDERSCORED IN THE TEXT.

4. DR. WOERNER'S BUNDESTAG SPEECH DEALT WITH THE
INCREASING SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES AT SOME LENGTH.
ANSWERING THOSE CRITICS WHO CLAIM THAT SUCH SUPERIORITY
HAS NO MEANING IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, DR. WOERNER CLAIMED
THAT MILITARY SUPERIORITY CURTAILS THE OPTIONS OPEN TO
ONE'S ADVERSARIES AND MAKES THEM VULNERABLE IN TIMES
OF CRISES. WOERNER CLAIMS THAT THE WEST HAS PAID TOO
LITTLE ATTENTION TO THIS USE OF MILITARY POWER. PARA-
PHRASING CLAUSEWITZ, WOERNER SAYS THE EAST REGARDS
ARMED FORCES PRIMARILY AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR DECIDING
PEACE IN ONE'S FAVOR.

5. WOERNER CRITICIZES THE POLICY OF DETENTE AS BEING
DANGEROUS. HE USES THIS AS A MEANS OF ATTACKING
THE GOVERNMENT. AFTER CRITICIZING VARIOUS NATO ALLIES
FOR CUTTING THEIR DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, WOERNER ADMITS
THAT THE FRG SHOWS UP BETTER IN THIS RESPECT THAN MOST
OF ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES. HOWEVER, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY TOO HAS CUT EXPENDITURES FOR DEFENSE AND
SECURITY IN REAL TERMS DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE
PROPOSED INCREASE OF 4.5 PERCENT IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET
IS NOT ENOUGH TO MAKE UP FOR INFLATION. WOERNER THUS
RETURNS TO A THEME OF THE "GUIDELINES": I.E., THAT
FEDERAL DEFENSE EXPENDITURES SHOULD BE INCREASED.

6. COMMENT: WHILE THE GERMAN POPULOUS IS CONCERNED
WITH INCREASING SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES, IT IS NOT
CERTAIN THAT INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING WOULD BE A
POPULAR CAMPAIGN ISSUE. HOWEVER, THE KOHL/WOERNER
POSITION REFLECTS WIDESPREAD SENTIMENT WITHIN

THE CDU/CSU MEMBERSHIP.
HILLENBRAND

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